HUMAN EVENTS

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Maine Fights Back: Conservative Republicans in the state of Maine have taken a good, hard look at the defeat of their party two weeks ago, have absorbed the lesson and are busy re-forming their line of battle for 1960—so run reports to the Nation's Capital from the Pine Tree State.

Washington political circles find the sturdy rebound of Maine folk a welcome contrast to some GOP elements who, wringing their hands, fail to recognize they have a good chance to stage a comeback. The lesson, well-digested by the lobster fishermen, is that "me-too-ism" (typified by the defeated Senator Frederick Payne) does not pay, that you don't gain votes by turning left, but simply lose your old friends thereby.

"The greatest mistake of the Maine GOP," remarks Hon. Owen Brewster, former GOP Senator from that state, "was its failure to make Reuther and Reutherism the issue in the recent campaign." In Washington, this appraisal is heard frequently. Indicative of feeling among the militant and growing Young Republican movement was the statement last week of Don Tubridy, President of the Young GOP organization in the Nation's Capital. The Republican defeat, he said, was the result of the "gutless policy" of elements in the GOP in appeasing ADA-type "liberals" and labor bosses.

● Further Maine developments, in the wake of this month's debacle, draw attention in the Capital:

(1) Conservatives have turned the high command of the Maine GOP to the right. Discussion of a basic platform smells strongly of the right-wing philosophy of the recently formed Americans for Constitutional Action; and the spotting of likely candidates to lead the fight in 1960 shows a trend toward conservatives.

(2) Feeling in Augusta and Portland is that Republican Senator Margaret Chase ("Maggie") Smith has assimilated the lesson pointed by the Modern GOP failure and will turn to the right. As a matter of fact, her voting record in the last session of Congress shows that she has veered towards conservatism and has thereby incurred the disapproval of the socialistic Americans for Democratic Action (for which she formerly displayed an affinity).

If she is to win re-election in 1960, Mrs. Smith will have to demonstrate real conservative action in the Senate in the coming two years—such is the verdict of Maine GOP pros.

(3) Maine conservatives are already working out savagely on Senator-elect Muskie, the Democratic "personality boy," who crushed Payne. They have taken up a remarkable admission made by Muskie on the morrow of his victory.

The new Senator told the press that he decided to run last spring after reading a public opinion survey which indicated his excellent chances of victory. He baldly confessed that the survey (estimated by public relations experts as costing about $25,000) was paid for by "friends outside of the state." Few doubt that the "friends" were the national labor bosses.

Further indicative of the help that Muskie received from the bosses is the fact that one union alone, the Textile Workers, distributed enough literature to reach every house in the state, rang 20,000 doorbells and made 48,000 phone calls. This was only a portion of the effort expended by various individual unions and by COPE to insure Muskie's election.

The pros estimate that among Payne's greatest liabilities was his admission that he had received $3500 from a friend "outside the state" (Bernard Goldfine). Muskie, they reason, should be regarded by Maine voters as equally guilty of improper practices. The new Senator will take his seat in Washington as a political debtor of the corrupt labor oligarchy, and the people of the state will be advised, by his conservative antagonists, to survey his voting record accordingly.

Nixon and Oregon: Vice President Nixon is forging to the front of conservatives as a result of his sound economic speech, given in Boston early this month (see "Tax Reform" item on page 4). Strategists in Washington talk of Nixon more and more as a "trouble shooter" who will go to various crucial political areas to check the "liberal" Democrats. Pros now think that one of the next "distressed political areas" the Vice President will cover is Oregon—because of an unusual situation which, unreported in the press, has arisen there.

Inside information is that Democratic Senator Richard Neuberger of that state is seriously ill, and may have to retire from office. If that should occur, the Governor of the state will appoint a successor. The present Governor is Robert D. Holmes, Democrat, now up for re-election.

Extraordinary efforts will be made by Republicans (including Nixon) to win the Governorship in that state for Mark Hatfield, the GOP nominee. If that move is successful, a seat in the Senate may go to the hard-pressed Republican minority next session. Thus the Hatfield-Holmes contest assumes major importance in November's national sweepstakes.

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Espionage Danger: Knocking into a cocked hat the arguments of "liberals" who, sincerely or otherwise, attack security regulations guarding technical and scientific secrets, Lieutenant General Arthur Trudeau last week publicly charged that Russia's technological advances are due more to successful espionage than to scientific prowess. He alluded to some recent cases of such espionage which he said he could not discuss in public. "I wish I could speak out even more strongly on this subject," Trudeau said.

Another Trudeau remark—"I don't believe our situation ever has been so critical, even just after Pearl Harbor"—strikes fear in many informed minds in the Capital. For Trudeau is the Army's Chief of Research and Development, succeeding the celebrated General James Gavin, who resigned his post after charging dangerous failure by our Defense authorities to push through essential missiles development and production needed for the survival of America. Furthermore, Trudeau speaks from the book, because he was formerly Chief of Army Intelligence (G2). For a while, he was relegated to a command in Korea, after a brush with Allen Dulles, chief of the Central Intelligence Agency. (Dulles and his Agency have been under heavy congressional fire for failure to detect the uprising in Iraq.)

The South and the Court: Sounds unmuffled in Dixie (but scarcely audible in the Northern press) manifest the mounting anger of Southern leaders toward the Supreme Court, following the Court's most recent Little Rock decision. Reports from the South also presage bitter reprisals against Southern congressional leaders who failed to pass HR 3, the "curb-the-Court" bill, in the last hours of the outgoing Congress. Criticism centers on Speaker Sam Rayburn and Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson (both Texans), but particularly on Johnson.

Significant of Southern feeling, in "border" as well as Deep South states, was an incident at the Texas State Democratic convention held in San Antonio, September 9. A delegation from the Fort Worth area filed a strong resolution denouncing Johnson and his fellow Democratic Senator, Ralph Yarborough, for failing to vote for the Court-curbing bill. Many other district delegations enthusiastically concurred and wanted it passed with a whoop.

The wording of the resolution was explicit: "Whereas the Supreme Court . . . has stepped out of its constitutional and judicial limitations in recent decisions and assumed legislative powers . . . and whereas, these decisions have been strongly pro-Communist and/or socialistic and consequently comforting to our enemy . . . and whereas both Texas Senators voted against the passage of this legislation, contrary to the expressed feeling of the majority of their Texas constituents . . . be it therefore resolved that the [delegation] go on record as strongly disapproving this action of Senators Johnson and Yarborough for their dereliction of duty in halting passage of the aforementioned legislation . . . . "

The Resolutions Committee, under "harmony" leadership, rejected this resolution. A slightly watered-down substitute was brought out of committee on a minority report and, despite the vigorous opposition of friends of Johnson, Rayburn and Yarborough, was approved by a deafening voice vote—the most vociferous such vote of the day.

Political action by fighting conservatives undoubtedly helped achieve passage of the resolution. A news dispatch from a correspondent in Washington to the Columbia (S.C.) *Record,* detailed how Lyndon Johnson, as Majority Leader, manipulated various impressionable Senators into switching from the Court-curbing side to a vote for recommitting the bill—which effectively killed it. Thousands of copies of this news story (reprinted by the Sumter, S. C., Chamber of Commerce), scattered through the convention hall, clearly had great effect—an example of timely "business political action."

Labor Front: Developments in the past week have drawn critical comments from observers on Capitol Hill about the partiality shown by the McClellan Labor Rackets Committee. The grilling of Teamster head Jimmy Hoffa underlines the basic strategy (the only strategy, say many) of the Committee: the elimination of this bitter foe of Walter Reuther and the domination of the Teamsters by the AFL-CIO (in which Reuther is the prevailing influence). This "act," which goes on week after week, fits in with the plans of Senator John F. Kennedy (D.-Mass.) for winning the Presidential nomination in 1960 in a Democratic convention over which Reuther will brandish his Damoclean sword.

Meanwhile, the Senator's brother, Robert, who is McClellan Committee Counsel, continues to swing his weight around, unrestrained by the Chairman. Recently, Counsel Kennedy point-blank attacked the Department of Justice for alleged failure to prosecute perjury cases arising from the Rackets Committee hearings. The Department, in rejoinder, demolished at least half of Kennedy's case. Chairman McClellan dissociated himself from the allegations, but obviously had given Kennedy his head, for no disciplinary action by the Chairman followed. Such attacks (and similar high-handed activities of Kennedy in public statements) have resulted in no discipline or restraint by the Chairman. Yet, it is recalled that Roy Cohn (when he was counsel for Senator Joe McCarthy's committee) and Bernard Schwartz, of the House Subcommittee on Legislative Oversight, lost their jobs because of charges not unlike those now being levelled at Kennedy.

Another observation made on the Hill in the past week concerned the Committee and David McDonald, head of the United Steelworkers Union. This labor boss again clinched his leadership in the annual convention of his union, steamrollering rump opposition, which clearly has strong rank-and-file support. (Even the far left New York Post *decried the "moral decay" of the Steelworkers, and characterized McDonald's squelching of the opposition as "a disgrace to organized labor.")*

Capital experts on labor would like to know if McDonald accomplished this defeat of a minority by applying union funds to a buildup for his re-election. A year-and-a-half ago, *The New York Times* rather graphically stated a case against McDonald on this score. The Senate Labor Rackets Committee soon thereafter desig-

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nated this common labor misuse of members' funds as a subject for investigation. Yet, nothing has appeared, and labor observers here wonder why.

Quemoy: The Capital last week listened attentively to a comment on the Quemoy situation from a bass-voiced leader who has often talked down the appeasement claque in the Senate. Widely noticed in Washington was the September 16 statement of GOP Senator William F. Knowland, now campaigning for gubernatorial election in California, on the Far East situation. "There is an old saying," remarked Knowland, "that the only way you can coexist with a tiger is to be inside the tiger. There are some who believe that you can distinguish between a Communist assault on Quemoy and Matsu in and of themselves and Quemoy and Matsu as steppingstones for Formosa.

"What nonsense is this? If your security position in Formosa is lost, the entire defense line, which includes our base at Okinawa, Japan, Korea, the Philippines, Southeast Asia and Australia will disintegrate and will be back much nearer California's shores."

Knowland likened Quemoy and Matsu to Western Berlin (as did HUMAN EVENTS—see last week's "Formosa" item), which is completely surrounded by Soviet territory, but which the West has defended against Communist actions. "Do free men in Europe," asked Knowland, "believe that you can yield small land areas in Asia and [that] the precedent will not be followed by the Communists in Europe, Africa and the Western hemisphere? What about Free Berlin? What about Denmark? From a defense point of view they too are vulnerable."

Washington finds especially interesting, in the raging debate about Quemoy, the fact that ex-President Truman supports President Eisenhower's unyielding position, thereby badly splitting the developing Democratic front against Ike's stand. Truman's influence on pros in the Democratic party is enormous, however dubious may be his influence on others.

Farm Front: Viewed as a resounding victory for the forces of economic freedom (and as portent of future trouble for the proponents of collectivized agriculture) is the case of J. Evetts Haley, Jr., a young Southwestern rancher who ran afoul of the Department of Agriculture.

Haley found himself enmeshed in a bureaucratic nightmare two years ago when he grew 43 acres of wheat on his Oklahoma ranch—not for purposes of sale, but in order to feed his cattle. The Government charged that he had violated its acreage allotment program for wheat production, and that he would have to pay a $500 penalty for doing so.

Haley went to court. "If the Federal Government is able to collect the wheat penalty it charges me with," he said, "then the Bill of Rights no longer retains its meaning and freedom as we know it in this country is gone."

Recently, after months of legal struggling, a Federal court handed down its ruling. US Judge David Whitfield declared: "There is no constitutional amendment authorizing Congress to tell the farmer what to plant, what to eat, what to do, or how to work. I enter judgment in favor of defendant."

The ruling in favor of Haley, according to sources in the Capital, has caused waves of consternation among the bureaucrats who have labored to envelop American farms in the coils of collectivism. Officials in the "Commodity Stabilization Service" complain that if the Haley decision is allowed to stand, the whole system of crop controls will be rendered ineffective.

Internal Security: Exciting discussion in the Capital is the question of what exactly happened to a hard-hitting report compiled by the Committee on Communist Tactics, Strategy and Objectives of the American Bar Association, and submitted to the ABA at its recent convention in California.

Like the famous statement of the State Chief Justices (see HUMAN EVENTS for September 1, 1958), who met in Los Angeles shortly before the ABA got there, the lawyers' report focussed on the recent series of pro-Communist decisions by the Warren Supreme Court. It also presented a trenchantly reasoned analysis of the Communist danger and of the fallacies underlying current methods of dealing with it.

The ABA Committee recommended that the US "re-evaluate the policy of recognition of Soviet Russia and its satellites." The text of the report, as inserted in the *Congressional Record* for August 22 by Senator Styles Bridges (R.-N.H.), stated:

"Nothing would slow down the progress of the Communist line more definitely than if the United States were to recognize the necessity of treating Soviet Russia as an outlaw and putting its Red agents in the same category. It would dry up the channels by which Soviet Russia spreads its propaganda, directs its espionage, and enforces its discipline on our citizens."

Concerning the Supreme Court and its attitude toward internal subversion, the Committee recommended consideration of legal moves to "restore to congressional committees the same freedom to investigate Communists and pro-Communists that these committees have always had to investigate businessmen and labor leaders." Specifically, it suggested moves to:

- empower congressional committees to decide whether questions it asks are "pertinent";
- "restore to the states the right to enforce their own antisubversive laws";
- "restore to the Smith Act the provision which makes it a crime to teach or advocate the violent overthrow of the Government";
- allow states to bar Fifth Amendment witnesses from the public payroll;
- restore state power to exclude from law practice Communists or witnesses who refuse to testify about possible Communist associations.

In spite of—or perhaps because of—the good sense it talks on the question of communism, the report has been bottled up by ABA national headquarters. Those writing for copies of the report are informed that "any release of the report was premature . . . copies therefore are not available for distribution."

Commented the New York *Daily News*: "We are strongly of the opinion that there was an attempt at suppression of the report by some influential ABA mem-

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ber or official who is afraid of the Earl Warren Court, although not necessarily a Commie-lover."

Tax Reform: Keen attention is paid to the remarks delivered by Vice President Nixon, speaking at the Harvard business school, early this month. The political sages seek to read, in Nixon's various pronouncements, evidence as to the economic course he would pursue if he should become President. Advocates of tax reform were heartened, therefore, by the Vice President's forthright advocacy of a reduction in "confiscatory" tax rates in his Harvard speech.

Nixon advocated "more liberal treatment of depreciation for business taxation purposes," and he suggested that "the stimulating effects of even a small cut in the corporate tax rate of 52 per cent would lead to more rather than less revenue."

"In the area of personal income," Nixon added, "the almost confiscatory rates in the highest brackets stifle and prevent risk-taking and encourage tax-avoidance devices. The small loss of revenue caused by some reduction of these rates would inevitably be offset by the new investment and business expansion which would result."

"Prosperity for the American people," he concluded, "is inseparable from prosperity for American business. We cannot raise the floor of security unless we raise the ceiling of opportunity. The best way for the American people to improve their living standards is through policies that promote maximum business growth."

In effect, note Capital advocates of tax reform, Nixon was endorsing the principle of the Sadlak-Herlong bill, which was blocked from passage in this session of Congress (see HUMAN EVENTS for July 28, 1958).

Louisiana Primary: Beginning to attract attention in the Capital is a primary fight taking place in the Eighth District of Louisiana, over the Congressional seat of Representative George Long, who died last spring.

Primary date is September 27. The contestants are Harold McSween, a lawyer and state board of education member, and state legislator Lloyd Teekell. The latter is endorsed by Louisiana's Governor Earl Long—brother of Huey and by this time a figure of fun in state and national politics.

Louisiana sources say that McSween, an articulate young conservative, is by far the preferable successor to Congressman Long (also a relative of Huey's), who established a conservative voting record in Washington and who was viewed in the Capital as "the best of the Long dynasty."

Outcome of the fight in the Eighth District will go far to determine whether Earl Long's leftish welfare-state regime has yet exhausted the forbearance of Louisiana voters. Seen as weighing heavily in the final reckoning is the revelation of vote irregularities taking place in the Governor's home parish, in an attempt to mass opposition to McSween.

Cited as a precedent for upsetting Long's entrenched power is the effective support—generated by determined conservative forces—that aided Representative William Colmer (D.-Miss.) in his recent successful primary fight against labor-boss-backed opposition (see HUMAN EVENTS for August 25, 1958). Colmer's victory, say conservatives, shows that energetic action can overcome even the most disciplined political machine.

Education in California: A revolt of scientists, scholars and teachers looms against the domination of professional educators over teacher-certification requirements in the state of California. The uprising was initiated by a chemist named Gustav Albrecht, when he discovered that the staff of the University of Southern California summer session included only two professors of chemistry and two professors of physics—but 97 professors of education!

Further investigation disclosed that there is no law requiring teachers to take courses in their subject, but that a Ph.D. in chemistry could not teach chemistry in California's public high schools or junior colleges unless he went to a teachers' college for at least two years.

Albrecht is currently circulating a petition to the California legislature, which has already been signed by approximately 300 Southern California scientists. The petition recommends (1) that courses in educational pedagogy *not* be required for teaching in high schools and junior colleges; (2) that such requirements be decreased for teaching in elementary grades; (3) that no special credentials be required for administrators; and (4) that high school and junior college teachers be allowed to teach only their major and minor subject fields. Copies of the petition are available from Gustav Albrecht, 3500 N. Marengo Avenue, Altadena, California.

● Additional light on the California school situation comes from the noted author and educator, Mortimer Smith, who issues a telling blast at "scholastic boondoggling and educational nonsense" in the September issue of *The Atlantic Monthly*, under the title, "How to Teach the California Child."

Smith shows how the decline of serious academic training in the Golden State runs parallel with the rise of "progressive education" and its "cult of the cockeyed": courses in "bachelor living," "how to pick up a handkerchief gracefully," etc. The author agrees with another prominent school critic, Arthur Bestor, that the cause of this educational sickness is "the interlocking directorate of professional educationists" which is taking over control of the schools.

A. D. SIMPSON, Honorary Chairman of the Board, National Bank of Commerce, Houston, Texas: "To me, HUMAN EVENTS is the eagerly expected publication every Monday morning, for it tells me what has happened all over the world, its effect on me as an American, and frequently is a guide for constructive thinking on what to do about it."

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Article Section I

PROXMIRE — CHAMPION SPENDER

As Capitol Hill Sees the Wisconsin Senator

By WILLARD EDWARDS

SENATOR WILLIAM PROXMIRE, freshman Democrat from Wisconsin, was declaiming on the Senate floor recently when one of his colleagues, a bewildered expression on his face, wandered into the cloakroom. "I've been here a long time and have heard some rare boasts on the Senate floor," he told a group of statesmen. "But for the first time in my life I have heard a Senator claim credit for introducing a bill which we passed nearly two months before he came to Washington!"

"Why the surprise?" asked one of his listeners. "I've heard the gentleman from Wisconsin outline a program for cutting taxes by billions, increasing spending by billions, and reducing the annual deficit, all in one operation. He has supreme confidence in the gullibility of the voters."

Proxmire has been a target of curious regard in the Senate since he took the oath August 29, 1957, two days after he won the seat left vacant by the death of Senator Joe McCarthy. With only one year to establish a record to support a bid for re-election this November, he has poured into the legislative hopper a vast quantity of conflicting measures, a legislative potpourri with ingredients to tempt the tastes of all voters.

In his brief career, he has posed as spender, saver, tax-cutter, tax-raiser. He has repudiated himself overnight in answer to criticism and then reverted to his original stand at a later date. He fulminated against filibusters during the recent session and wound up on the final day leading a successful filibuster to kill a pending bill by preventing a vote on its merits. His threat to talk "another 10 or 15 hours" forced adjournment after Senator Karl Mundt (R.-S. D.) protested against proceeding "*ad infinitum* and *ad nauseam*."

As the political winds blow, so veers the Wisconsin weathervane. He displays no more embarrassment in his sudden switches than the metal rooster atop the barn as it flicks its tail from north to south at the whim of variable gusts. Proxmire has been consistent only in one emotion—his hatred of Republicans.

In a typical outburst, approaching hysteria, on the last day of the congressional session, Proxmire cried his contempt for Republicans. His father, his mother, his sister, his brother all were Republicans, he told the Senate, and he would "trust Republicans with anything but public service."

This deep resentment may be traced to several psychological factors. Born 42 years ago in Lake Forest, Ill., son of a wealthy and prominent physician, Proxmire never achieved note in any calling until the political fates catapulted him into the Senate at the age of 41.

He went to Yale and to Harvard business school. After military service, he served a postwar stint as a junior executive in the J. P. Morgan banking firm but couldn't seem to click in the financial world. He married and was later divorced by Elsie Rockefeller, the great-grandniece of the late John D. His abhorrence of the GOP presumably sprang from lack of success in a business and social world where Republicans were in the majority.

AT 31, PROXMIRE sought new fields in Wisconsin. He was hired and fired as a reporter by the Madison *Capital-Times*. Then he tried a radio commentator's job, sponsored by labor unions. He displayed an insatiable urge to hold public office and staged three unsuccessful attempts to win the Wisconsin Governorship—twice against former Governor Walter J. Kohler, and once against the Dairy State's present chief executive, Vernon Thomson.

Proxmire's unexpected victory over Kohler in the 1957 Senate race, based upon factors in which his capacity for office played little part, sent him to Washington, grimly determined to remain there at all costs.

He has not hesitated, in this frantic campaign, to introduce, as if they were his own creation, bills identical with measures already proposed by other Senators. He surpassed himself, in the instance cited above, when on July 7, 1958, he introduced a bill to reform Budget procedures which the Senate had passed a year earlier by unanimous vote, 53 days before he was elected to serve there.

When this measure, after receiving House approval, became law, Proxmire added it to a list of "Proxmire bills" which he placed in the *Congressional Record*. He included a highly dubious

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estimate that it would save the Government $4 billion in claiming that his program would reduce Government spending by $6.5 billion.

He furnished the Senate with a table showing the "financial effect of all bills sponsored or cosponsored by Senator William Proxmire." The table showed the above $6.5 billion "saving"; tax reforms to increase Government revenue by $3 billion; and tax cuts and spending measures costing the Government $8.8 billion.

The net effect, he crowed, would be a saving of $700 million, which would be used to reduce the annual deficit. His explanation (on pages 15139-42 of the *Congressional Record*) of how to slash taxes, increase spending and save money at the same time is a masterpiece of its kind, designed to afford entertainment and amusement for all lovers of crossword puzzles and cryptograms. It made no sense to any other Senator and was the laugh of the cloakrooms.

Proxmire had been prodded into this attempt to explain his contradictions and inconsistencies by Representative John W. Byrnes (R.-Wis.). On May 8, Byrnes made public an analysis of Proxmire's legislative proposals in the first four months of the 1958 session. He added up the spending total of these measures and found they would deplete the Federal Treasury at the rate of over $23 billion annually.

Proxmire, said Byrnes, had established himself as the greatest spender in the history of the Senate. If his legislative program was enacted, it would raise an anticipated $8 billion deficit to $31 billion, a figure surpassing by $5 billion the entire deficit piled up by Franklin D. Roosevelt during the first eight years of the New Deal. No member of Congress could challenge the Byrnes statement.

The sum that Proxmire proposed to spend, said Byrnes, was "more money than the 45 million Americans who earned $10,000 a year or less pay in Federal income taxes each year."

This analysis created a stir in Wisconsin and Proxmire began to get disturbing questions in the mail from home. He hastily denounced Byrnes' summary as "dishonest" but began feverishly amending his program, introducing ten bills to cut spending or increase revenues.

Vast confusion is in store for future historians when they examine Proxmire's innumerable speeches in the *Congressional Record*. They could be excused for concluding that there were two Wisconsin Senators, both named Proxmire, or just one with a split personality of classic proportions.

The material for study will be copious. Proxmire uttered more words than are in the King James version of the The Bible. His observations, at $81 a page, cost an estimated $35,000 to print. A constant flow of reprints of this literature went to his constituents, via free postage, supplemented by a newsletter compiled by a publicity staff on his Senate office payroll. The cost to the taxpayer of maintaining Proxmire in office for one year, including his office staff (more than $100,000), his salary ($22.500) and such perquisites as the franking privilege, stationery, mileage, *etc.*, can be conservatively estimated at more than $200,000.

PROXMIRE IS NOW engaged in an intensive campaign to convince Wisconsin voters that he is worth it and should be returned to office for six more years. His Republican opponent is Roland J. Steinle, a retired circuit judge, a man with a distinguished record. Proxmire is waging an 18-hour a day campaign, criss-crossing the state, talking incessantly, grabbing lapels, pouring his appeals into every available ear.

He is staking his political survival on the premise that voters are gullible and greedy, that one segment can be won by promises of tax reduction while another is lured by promises of easy Government money. He apparently reasons that the "common man" is either too stupid or too selfish to become alarmed about the runaway inflation his program insures.

This cold and cynical judgment will be tested for accuracy in the Wisconsin election, November 4. It is no exaggeration to term the verdict of the voters crucial to America's future.

Willard Edwards covers Capitol Hill for the *Chicago Tribune.*

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Article Section II

DOUBLE TALK: GUIDEPOST FOR THE FALL CAMPAIGN

Subversion of Language Aids Collectivist Advance

By WILLIAM H. PETERSON

WORDS ARE THE building blocks of language, the myriad bridges between men, the very essence of communication.

Yet words can do double-duty. They can clothe the half-truth, or provide welcome escape hatches for promises that go astray. Words become especially fuzzy and shadowy in the hot air of politics. Politics, like liquor, makes people boastful, quarrelsome, and careless with the truth. Under the strange catalytic action of politics words are no longer simply communicators but become confusers, beguilers, seducers.

(And revealers. Words reveal, usually inadvertently, our biases and prejudices. For example, during the Suffragette's Movement that led to women's right to vote, one staunch feminist said to another: "Brace up, my dear. Just pray to God. She will help you.")

We live in an age of catchwords and half-truths, an age in which men become infatuated and even seduced by words—words whose true meaning becomes lost in reveries and fantasties. The process is old but the speed, boosted by mass media and modern electronics, is new. So fast are political words involuted that the Orwellian Revolution* of mass hypnosis has arrived. (Witness, for example, how quickly "McCarthyism" was transformed into a smear word.)

Semantic subterfuge is not, however, limited to the politician. At times, we all, I think, switch the King's English to suit our purposes. How many housewives are satisfied with the label "housewife"? Not many, as befuddled census takers have found out. Recently the Long Island Federation of Women's Clubs recommended that housewives be henceforth known as "homemakers." The Census Bureau has since tried "home managers." Women's colleges are experimenting with "domestic economist" and "domestic executive."

And in politics, miracle of miracles! The lobbyist is as extinct as the dodo. In all of Washington and the state capitals there's not a single lobbyist to be found. Instead, there are hundreds of "congressional liaison officials," "legislative representatives," and "legislative research specialists."

It's clear, I think, that the word-juggling that the politicians do is similar to that which we all resort to, at one time or another, in our private affairs. But the crucial difference between political words and ordinary words is this: political words are almost always etched in political power. And political power is the most fearsome power on earth—more fearsome than the atomic bomb. For, remember, when the bomb is dropped, the decision to drop it is a political decision.

Politics is the struggle for office—that is, for the power of the state. Thus we should ask ourselves: What is the state, what is government? This is the question Washington directed to himself in his Farewell Address. He said: "What is government? Government is not reason, it is not eloquence—it is force! Government is like fire, a good servant but a poor master. . . . "

THE STATE, in other words, is the policeman's club and the soldier's gun. It is a legal monopoly of force—the only legal repository of force in society. No other institution—whether the church, the university, the corporation, the fraternal organization—is so empowered.

The state, with the monopoly of force, is necessary because we are not gods but mortal and quite fallible men. The state is necessary because evil and good coexist in men. And, since power is a corrupting force, it follows that the state may well be able to punish the evil in men but be quite unable to cope with the evil in itself.

This dilemma was the one faced by our Founding Fathers. Their answer was limited government, a government of expressed and sharply delimited powers, a government which shared the sovereignty with the states, a government restricted by a written Constitution.

Yet nowhere in the Declaration or in the Constitution did the Fathers say that our state was or was not intended to be what is now the greatest semantic shibboleth of our times—a "democracy." Quite the contrary, the *Federalist Papers* made quite clear that the framers of the Constitution were fearful of democracy—meaning majority rule by the populace at large. And yet while the Founding Fathers had no illusions about the people, they had no illusions about the politicians. Ours was to be a government of laws, not of men. Said Jefferson: "On

* In his famous satirical novel, *1984*, George Orwell prophesied a world in which words, made to convey meanings arbitrarily decreed by the political authorities, became a principal means of enforcing dictatorship.

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questions of power, let no more be said of confidence in man, but bind him down from mischief by the chains of the Constitution."

But the plasticity of words has dangerously weakened our bastion of liberty, the Constitution. For today, the Constitution is proclaimed a "living document." Translated into English, this means that the Constitution has become as elastic as rubber and as watertight as a sieve.

Consider the plasticity of political words in the case of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, whose biography forms the basis of a current play on Broadway. In 1932 FDR ran on a platform of economy, a balanced budget, the preservation of the gold standard, and political integrity. FDR promised to rid us of "bureau on bureau and commission on commission." Then the world witnessed, in the frenzy of what is now called the "100 days," the greatest deficit spending and swiftest expansion of Government bureaucracy probably in the history of the world.

In 1936, FDR declared: "In the past 34 months we have built up new instruments of public power. In the hands of the people's Government, this power is wholesome and proper. But in the hands of political puppets of an economic autocracy, such power would provide shackles for the liberties of the people."

This is a prime example of political semantics. Supposedly democracy purifies politics and mollifies power. Yet was not Hitler democratically elected to office? Mussolini? Peron? And in our own country, Frank Hague and Huey Long? And in office, how did these demagogues maintain and expand their power? Through the enormous power of words—by innuendos and promises, by smears and lies.

Among the easiest and most seductive of political subterfuges is the promise that the state will "pay" for this or "pay" for that. The state will provide "free" schools, "free" medicine, "free" roads, "free" libraries. Free? The profoundest lesson in the thousands of books on economics by learned men all the way back to Aristotle adds up to this: there is no such thing as a free lunch. It thereby follows that there is no such thing as that old shibboleth, "Federal aid." How can it be called "aid" if the Federal Government seizes money in the states and then returns the money—minus a terrific bureaucratic bite—to the states?

A similar semantic trap lies in the idea that the state can somehow provide jobs. The state can "create" employment, we're told, when it builds roads, dams, parks, and now missiles and post offices. And where does the Government get the money to "create" employment? From taxes, including the greatest hidden tax of all, inflation. And quite obviously, the tax money spent by the Government cannot be spent by the taxpayer. In short, the Government provides only as many jobs as it destroys. Worse, the Government in its discriminatory taxes against middle and upper income groups destroys the main sources of capital—capital which not only could have provided jobs but greater economic strength *vis-á-vis* the Soviets.

So THIS is the never-never world of politics with its strange upside-down language. We fight to make the world safe for democracy only to find it unsafe and in the hands of "the dictatorship of the proletariat." We promise the mothers and fathers of America "again and again" not to send our boys to fight in foreign wars but off they go before the next year is out. We seek to prevent Procter and Gamble from merging with Clorox Bleach on the grounds of monopoly but look the other way when the CIO merges with the AFL. We send out troops when the "civil rights" of nine schoolchildren are threatened but we smile when literally millions of workers are forced to join unions against their will. We plead for economy in 1957 and go all-out for spending in 1958. We tell the citizen to exercise restraint in incurring debt and we raise our own debt limit by $10 billion. We reclaim land and irrigate farmland with vast valley projects and when the surpluses become too great we put the farms in the Soil Bank and pay farmers not to farm. We worship freedom but pay with our freedom to buy security.

And we wrap the whole thing in a package called "the middle of the road." It's all like George Orwell's Ministry of Truth in the novel, *1984*: War is Peace, Freedom is Slavery, Ignorance is Strength.

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